## WASHINGTON.

"Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

MONDAY, MARCH 11, 1850.

THE "EVIL OF THE DAY" LESS ALARMING, VET STILL SERIOUS.

Since our last number on this subject, though cir cumstances seem to have rather lessened the gloom of apprehension on the minds of many persons as to the possible consequences of the present agitation, they are far from having dissipated all uneasiness concerning it. The "Evil" continues to distract the public councils, and enough of uncertainty yet hangs over the issue to afford abundant material for speculation as to the result of all this. We do not ourselves know what the end will be; but the end is not yet.

Within the last few days we have had the Address of Senator Calhoun in the Senate, which had been generally looked forward to as an authentic exposition of the griefs of the South, for which "redress" is so loudly called for by the Resolutions of the Legislatures of some of the Southern States, and especially by such as have expressed a disposition to resort to the instrumentality of a Southern Convention to accomplish their wishes. We have not failed to read, with the close attention due to the high source of it, and to its careful elaboration, the Address of the distinguished Carolinian: and, though it adds little to the force of the Appeal to the People of the South of the last year. from the pen of the same gentleman, there are yet some new points in it, which, in a general survey of "the Evil of the Day," deserve particular consideration.

The Address sets out with the proposition, assumed as a fact, that the Union is in danger : and the immediate cause of this danger to the Union is stated to be " the almost universal discontent which pervades all the States composing the Southern section of the Union." To account for this discontent, grievances which the South is alleged to have received at the hands of the North are recited, with little variation from the similar recital in the Address of the last year; which grievances, as we have lately shown, are some of them substantial, and others of them partly real and partly not sowhilst all that have reality in them are susceptible of constitutional remedies. The rest of these alleged grievances, being merely the natural fruits of incompatibility of tempers and difference of habits, such as, occurring in individual life, are not allowed to be sufficient causes for dissolution of the marriage tie, never can constitute a valid reason for the separation from one another of the States which compose this political Union. Rightly considered, indeed, the diversity of pursuits and tastes of the members of the family of States will be found to impart the charms of freshness, variety, and reciprocal profit, whilst in Union; which would, by a severance of that Union, be converted into an intercourse, within each community, of insipid dullness, and, between community and community, of jealousy, bitterness, and hate. Should we live to witness such a severance as is now contemplated by the discontented gentlemen of the South, and as Mr. Calhoun argues to be inevitable, set us down as the falsest of prophets if such be not the result, should the States themselves not be shivered to atoms in the process.

After having thus begged the question of almost universal discontent-the actual discontent being, as we have shown, very far from universal-it is affirmed, in the Address referred to, as the belief of the People of the Southern States, as universal as the discontent itself, that "they cannot remain, as things now are, consistently with honor and safety. in the Union." That such is the universal belief, or even that of a respectable proportion, of the People of the Southern States, we peremptorily deny, and have it in our power to prove, from evidence which we will produce. That it may be the prevailing belief in South Carolina and in Georgia, we shall not undertake to deny, though we doubt in regard to the latter. It is not the belief, certainly, of the People of Maryland, of North Carolina, of Virginia, of Louisiana, of Tennessee, of Kentucky, of Texas, of Missouri; of Delaware, of Florida Concerning the public feeling in the States of Alabama, Mississippi, and Arkansas, we have less information: but, if the Senators and Representatives from those States are willing that they should thus be counted out of the Union, we shall certainly not oppose our own hope and belief to their better knowledge.

The first cause assigned by the honorable Senator on this alleged almost universal belief of the People of the South that they are dishonored by remaining in the Union, is the long-continued agitation of the slave question in the North. Upon this point we will only here add, to what we have heretofore said, that, as we shall have occasion in the sequel to show, that agitation was met, it it was not preceded, by a counter-agitation from the opposite quarter, which was industriously prosecuted so long as political objects were hoped to be attainable by means of it; and, in despair of success, was abandoned then, only to be renewed, as it is now renewed, at a season supposed to be more auspicious to the views of the actors in it.

It was this demonstration against the North, indeed, which animated the Abolitionists and Anti-Slavery men in the North, and set them to work in a way, it must be admitted, as claimed by the South, contrary to the spirit of the Constitution, and justly offensive to the People and Governments of the South. It is one of the phenomena of the existing agitation, not easily to be accounted for, that it is just at the moment that a more constitutional spirit, a wiser policy, and a greater comity. are manifesting themselves in and from the North. that the South is stirred into such a storm of passion, as in particular districts seems to blind People to facts which stare them in the face, and deafen them to the dictates of reason.

The true cause of the present excitement among the old leaders and the rising younger politicians and aspirants of the South, is, after all-thanks to the ingenuousness of their great leader-fairly confessed in his Address. To our readers it will not have been new, for we have on more than one occasion lately distinctly referred to it. It is still the North, however, and not the West-the real offender, whose parvenu power is loftily overlooked-that is held to account for the effects of the the South must devise some means of putting a the country to its progressive wants; there has been

each to protect itself against the aggression of the &c. "But we are just at the close of the sixth decade, and the commencement of the seventh. The CENSUS is to be taken this year, which must add greatly to the decided preponderance of the North [West] in the House of Representatives, and in the Electoral College. The prospect is, also, that a great increase will be added to its present preponderance in the Senate during the period of the decade, by the addition of new States." &c. "This great increase of Sen ators, added to the great increase of members of the House of Representatives and Electoral Colplace under the next decade, will effectually and irretrievably destroy the equilibrium which existed when the Government commenced."

The honorable Senator, after thus ingenuously confessing the real cause of the present agitation to be the shadow of the coming census, by which the equilibrium" in the Government, as it existed sixty years ago, will be disturbed, goes on to argue that, "Had this destruction been the operation of time, without the interference of Government, the South would have no reason to complain. This being admitted, the whole complaint of the South, founded upon this cause, falls to the ground because the action of the Government-the "interference" of the Government-of which complaint is made, has been but the ordinary exercise of its legislative powers, such as is not only not in terdicted by any principle of the Constitution, express or understood, but was exactly foreseen, in tended, and justified by the framers of that in

Of the alleged "interference of the Government to disturb the "equilibrium," the honorable Senator gives three specifications. The first of them we pass by, as of no consequence, being based on the ordinance of 1787 for the government of the Northwestern Territory, which was in full effect before the Constitution was formed, and for the operation of which the Government is in no way responsible It existed independently of the Government, and has ever been beyond its control. "The next specification," says the Address, "consists in adopting a system of revenue and disbursements by which an undue proportion of the burden of taxation has been imposed upon the South, and an undue proportion of its proceeds appropriated to the North;" and the last is " a system of political measures by which the original character of the Government has been radically changed."

Let us now refer to the highest source, and,

without opposing to the great authority of the honorable Senator any humble argument of our own. prove that the burden and proceeds of taxation-in other words, the revenue and disbursements of the Government-were (as indeed might be inferred from the letter of the Constitution) intended to be within the control of the National Government; and that the character of the Government was expected to change with changing circumstances. Can a greater absurdity, indeed, be imagined, than that a Government could be so framed as to start out, full-armed and all perfect, for an eternity of existence, from the brain which conceived it? that time dreamt of in any one's philosophy? invented, these modes of diffusing intelligence and tion? But to the proof.

of Publius, (the book entitled the Federalist) by JAMES MADISON and ALEXANDER HAMILTON, the great expounders to the People of the Constitution the State Conventions, the following:

"We must bear in mind that we are not to confine our view to the present period, but to look forward to remote futurity. Constitutions of civil government are not to be framed upon a calculation of existing exigencies ; but upon a combination of these, with the probable exigencies of ages, according to the natural and tried course of human affairs. Nothing, therefore, can be more fallacious, than to infer the extent of any power proper to be lodged in the National Government, from an estimate of its immediate necessities. There ought to be a CAPACITY to provide for future contingencies, as they may happen; and as these are illimitable in their nature, so it is impossible safely to limit that capacity. It is true, perhaps, that a computation might be made, with sufficient accuracy to answer the purpose, of the quantity of revenue requisite to discharge the subsisting engagements of the Union, and to maintain those establishments which, for some time to come, would suffice in time of peace. But would it be wise, or would it not rather be the extreme of folly, to stop at this point, and to leave the Government, entrusted with the care of the National defence, in a state of absolute incapacity to provide for the protection of the community against future invasions of the public peace, by be obliged to exceed this point, where can we stop short of an indefinite power of providing for emergencies as they may arise? Though it be easy to assert, in general terms, the possibility of forming a rational judgment of a due provision against probable dangers, yet we may safely challenge those who make the assertion to bring forward their data, and may affirm that they would be found as vague and uncertain as any that could be produced to establish the probable duration of the world. Observations, confined to the mere prospects of internal attacks, can deserve no weight, though even these will admit of no satisfactory calculations: but, if we mean to be a commercial people, it must form a part of our policy to be able one day to defend that commerce. The support of a navy, and of naval wars, would involve contingencies that must baffle all the efforts of political arithmetic."

To this quetation we need not add a word. It settles the question. There is nothing objectionable process of multiplication : to which (by the way) in the adapting the revenues and disbursements of

that time there was nearly a perfect equilibrium change of the relative power of the South and the satisfies our mind that this sentiment is far from North (and West) is undoubtedly true. But that universal, we insert here a few brief change has been in the course of nature; no more a which will serve to show that the opinion reprecause of just complaint by the South than the alter- sented by Mr. Calhoun does certainly to some nation of the seasons, the rising and setting of the extent prevail in several of the Southern States. sun, the ebb and flow of the oceanic tides. Nor is These extracts, taken at random from a greater this national progress just cause of complaint by number, are, it may be added, in the highest tone of the South against the Union; for it is the work of the papers which we receive from the South: the Constitution, in precise fulfilment of its great FROM AN ARTICLE IN THE JANUARY NUMBER OF THE DEMOdesign and contemplation, that the United States would increase and multiply and become a great and populous nation. The idea of an equilibrium established by the Constitution is a theory, howlege on the part of the North, which must take ever ingenious, that has no foundation in the Constitution, nor any warrant in history. The Constitution recognises, in its distributions of power, no distinction of races, no geographical divisions, but one power and one interest-that one, the interest of the People of the United States; not the men and women then living, but them and their successors in all time to come.

Nor does it follow, from any or all the premises of the distinguished Senator, that the character of the Government of the United States has been changed, by its legislative or judicial action, from that in which it originally came from the hands of its framers " into the form of a great consolidated democracy." That it is a great Consolidated Union, is true: but it is equally true that it came such from the hands of its framers, and was adopted as such by the People in the several State Conventions in which it was ratified. This is a point so clear that it is surprising that any mistake should exist about it in the minds of intelligent men. It lies at the very foundation of the structure of the Government. The framers of the Constitution in presenting the work of their hands to the People of the several States, explicitly stated it to them, is the letter signed, by the unanimous order of the Convention, by George Washington, the President of that body, under date of September 17, 1787:

" In all our deliberations on this subject," said they, " we kept steadily in our view that which appears to us the greatest interest of every true American, THE CONSOLIDATION OF OUR UNKN, in which is involved our prosperity, felicity and safety-perhaps our national existence. This important consideration, seriously and deepy impressed on our minds, led each State in the Convention to be less rigid in points of inferior magnitude, than might have been otherwise expected and thus the Constitution, which we now present, is the result of a spirit of amity, and of that nutual deference and concession which the pecularity of our political situation rendered indispensable That it will meet the full and entire approbation of every State, is not perhaps to be experted but each will doubtless consider, that, had her interest alone been consulted, the consequences might have been particularly disagreeable or injurious to others. That it is liable to as few exceptions as could reasonably have been expected, we hope and believe; that it may promote the lasting welfare of that Country so dear to us all, and secure her freedom and happiness, is our nost

From the theories, however, let us turn to the practical conclusions of the Address of the great Southron. His conclusions are, that " there is but one way in which the Union can be saved;" and Were Wars, Rebellions, Conquests, Territorial ac- that is, by adopting such measures as will satisfy quisitions, the progress of the Arts and Sciences, the States "belonging to the Southern section" that the Ingenuity of Inventors, to call forth the exercise "they can remain in the Union consistently with of no powers not possessed or not expressed in the their honor and safety." If the Union is only to fluences of the putrid, loathsome masses of the North Constitution? Under the power to establish and be saved by this process, it is indeed in danger. maintain a Navy, for example, can it be pretended If it can be saved only by surrendering all the polimaintain a Navy, for example, can it be pretended that steam-power (not then applied to its present uses) could not be employed? That steam-carriages could not be employed to transport the mails on iron roads, such carriages and roads not being at the Union have that "the Southern section" will Can the Government not transmit despatches by the telegraph lines, or illuminate its public buildings the several concessions demanded for the South is sary to effect the abolition of the Union. or grounds with gas, because, not being at the time one known to be impossible; that is, an amendment to the Constitution "which will restore to the light are not in terms mentioned in the Constitu- South in substance the power she possessed of protecting herself before the equilibrium between the We quote from the well-known work, the Letters sections was destroyed by the action of this Government." No amendment of the Constitution, which never had any existence. In the past, so far of the United States previous to its ratification by from there having existed any actual equilibrium, the South, through the Presidents which it has furnished, has ruled the Government for forty-eight out of the sixty years of its existence, and our present Chief Magistrate is also as South even as his first predecessor, "the illustrious Southerner whose mortal remains repose on the western bank of the Potomac." During the three single terms of Northern Presidents, moreover, Southern influence predominated in the Legislative Halls, if not in the Cabinet. All this power, all this influence, resulted from the concession made by the North to the South, the West being then yet unpeopled, in the formation of the Constitution.

An amendment to the Constitution, now said to be demanded by the South as a condition of remaining in the Union, is, we have said, known to be impossible. It would, besides, if its features are correctly reported, could it be adopted, not only be impracticable, but, ipso facto, a disruption of the

The conclusion drawn by almost all readers from the reiterated declarations by Mr. CALHOUN that the South cannot remain in the Union but upon conditions which are either impossible or impracticable, is, that the distinguished Senator is himself of the opinion that the time has arrived for a severance of the Union. This we do not, and would not willingforeign war or domestic convulsions? If we must is, that the distinguished Senator is himself of the the Union. This we do not, and would not willingly, believe. We understand him to have only stated what he believes to be the general sentiment of the will receive, the execution of all right-minded men. what he believes to be the general sentiment of the people of the South, viz. a belief that they cannot, as things now are, consistently with their ideas of honor and safety, remain in the Union. Nor does that has watched the gathering of the last four years; who that has watched the gathering of the last four years; who that has watched the gathering of the black clouds, now so porthe honorable Senator, when speaking for portions of the South, and particularly of his own State and Georgia, express himself at all too strongly. We have carefully observed the evidences of pub-

. The substance of the proposed amendment is reported, since the delivery of Mr. CALHOUN'S Address, by the Washington correspondent of the Journal of Commerce, (probably well-informed,) to be as follows:

"I conjecture that the scheme which Mr. CALHOUN templates is so to amend the Constitution as to provide for the division of the electoral colleges into electors from non-slaveholding and from slaveholding States, and to provide that the former shall choose a President, and the latter a President. There will be thus Two Executives, and a concurrence between them is to be requisite to their action.

stop before they can put a stop to a part of their grievances.

"That cause," says Mr. Calhoun, "is to be found in the fact that the equilibrium between the two sections in the Government, as it stood when the Constitution was ratified, and the Government, as it stood when the Constitution was ratified, and the Government has been claracter of events, a when the Constitution was ratified, and the Government has a rrived, in the course of events, a tending to close this article with evidence which the tending to close this article with evidence which the course of events, a tending to close this article with evidence which the course of our great divisions of the course of events, a tending to close this article with evidence which the course of events, a tending to close this article with evidence which the course of events, a tending to close this article with evidence which the selection of a guality and rights.

"That there has arrived, in the course of events, a tending to close this article with evidence which the convention of the souths of the south go forth, as we know it will, from the deliberation of the course of the course of the course of events, a tending to close this article with evidence which tending to close this article with evidence which the course of events, a tending to close this article with evidence which the course of events, a the convention of the south go forth, as we know it will, from the deliberation of the course of the convention of the selection of the mail that the sentiment which he represents to be obtained? Only by the Convention of the south; by a conference among all her leading spirits, and by the united and unanimous declaration of the mail that the undivided voice of the South, so a conference among all her leading spirits, and by the united and unanimous declaration of them all that to Mr. Van Buren's re-election to a second term, the course of the course That there has arrived, in the course of events, a tending to close this article with evidence which

The formation of the cotton States, with Cuba, into a great cotton, tobacco, sugar-and-coffee-producing Union, calling forth the boundless fertility of Cuba, and renovating the West India Islands with the labor of the blacks of the Southern States, in those hands in which their labor and numbers have thriven so well, and this empire annexed to Britain by trea-ties of perfect reciprocity, giving the latter the command of the ties of perfect reciprocity, giving the latter the command of the Eastern commerce by way of Nicaragua, and all the benefits of pessession, without the responsibility of slave ownership, would be a magnificent exchange for the useless province of Canada. The separation of the North from the South, under the embittered feelings which must necessarily exist before its possible consummation, would cut off the former from its support of raw materials, deprive its ships of two-thirds its business, close the whole Southern market to the sale of its wares, what was its factories, decorated its wharves and reduce it. shut up its factories, depopulate its wharves, and reduce specify to the present condition of Canada. The possession speedily to the present condition of Canada. The pos of the mouths of the Mississippi would give the South a

control of the West. FROM THE SAVANNAH GEORGIAN. The great Southern Convention has been sanctioned by the Legislatures of Georgia, Alabams, Florida, Mississippi, South Carolins, Virginia, and will be, we have no doubt, by other Southern and Southwestern States. The Governors of Maryland, Louisiana, and Tennessee have, we believe, taken ground in favor of it. We publish this morning the resolutions details with high life. tions adopted, with little difference of opinion, in Virginia. We also publish an article from the Arkansas Intelligencer, containing just and truly Southern views, to which we invite the attention of all. The South will be attention of all. tion of all. The South will be unanimous upon this most important movement. That unanimity portends one of two things. The union of the South and Southwest will save the Union of the States by its moral influence, the North receding, or it will lay the foundation of a Southern and Southwestern Republic. We love the Union of all the States. We admire and venerate the work of our fathers. It can be perpetuated only by the exercise of justice on the part of the non-slaveholding States.

FROM THE AUGUSTA (GEORGIA) REPUBLIC. Would to God that the North and the South, the East and the West, could all see this question as it should be seen. But human nature has been frail, faulty, and false in every age, and we awfully fear that it will prove so again far enough to destroy the beautiful, glorious, and magnificent work of our fathers' hands. We yet hope for the best, but if we are driven to choose between the Union and dishonor, or separation and our rights and honor, false and fraudulent will be the South-ern heart that would not glory in looking upon the streaks in the eastern sky of the South which promised her the re-fulgent sun of independence.

FROM THE NEWBERRY (SOUTH CAROLINA) SENTINEL. Indemnity for past grievances, entire exemption from all fanatical interference with our domestic institutions, and com-plete security of the constitutional rights and equality of the South for all time to come, are the objects to be attained by the delegates to this [Southern] Convention; and they will most certainly accomplish these purposes, "peaceably if they can, forcibly if they must." They will attain these objects, even if it should become necessary for the Southern States to dissolve the political relations which unite them to the North, and which our Northern brethren, through their Legislatures and in their primary assemblies, have shown themselves so unshrinking from these high resolves, these noble purposes. And if, unfortunately, a civil war is forced upon her, every pattling for her righteous cause until victory or annihilation

FROM THE FAIRFIELD (SOUTH CAROLINA) HERALD. We are pleased to notice the decided stand taken by the press in North Carolina upon the Southern question, and espe-cially so that of the *Aurora*, published at Wilmington. We second the motion of the Aurora, and are willing to pledge ourself with him among the first to enrol our name in a Southern army to march against the North, in vindication of

Southern rights, if not peaceably rendered to us.

We perhaps go a little further than some of our friends as regards this Union. We are in favor of a dissolution of the Union, because we believe that the South would be benefited by a dissolution, both pecuniarily, politically, and morally.

Who, oh who, shall deliver us from the contaminating in-

FROM THE SOUTH CAROLINA "SPARTAN." We hold it to be the sacred duty of the South, enjoined by whole mass. Then, if the North will abolish slavery, and

FROM THE S. CAROLINA "MISCELLANY," A RELIGIOUS PAPER. There is a feeling in the South-and that feeling is every day increasing and strengthening—that the South would be the gainer by a dissolution [of the Union;] her political prosperity would increase, her wealth be multiplied, and that the North would be shorn of her strength and importance. Those who entertain this feeling are indifferent to the action of Conernment." No amendment of the Constitution, gress; they prefer an independent and separate Government to a violated Constitution. Nothing but a speedy adjustment of the slavery question can do away with this fee prevent the consequences it might effect. Unless some compromise acceptable the South (which we firmly believe and hope will be done) is adopted before the first of June, the Nashville Convention will then assemble, and the Ides of March shall have come, and the glorious fabric cemented by the prayers and blood of patriots will crumble into anarchy, and will stand as a beacon to coming generations of the reck-lessness of faction, and of the extravagance of a misdirected

philanthropy.

The feeling in favor of a withdrawal of the Southern States from the great Confederacy, however much it may be disregarded, is certainly not the offspring of excitement or impulse, but a deep-settled purpose, which she is fully determined to execute, rather than submit to aggressions upon what she understands to be her constitutional privileges.

This is a correct and candid statement of the facts of the

case, We claim to understand the mind of the South on this subject, and we are conscious that what we have here said is a full and truthful representation of the matter.

PROM THE COLUMBUS (GEORGIA) SENTINEL. · But some of our contemporaries doubt the wis dom of such a Convention altogether. Upon examination, however, we have ascertained that this objection has invariably proceeded from one of two classes. The first consists of who, from an honest but overweening devotion to the Union, are ready to sacrifice, for its preservation, every thing but the very existence of the South. This class opposes the Convention because they do not recognise in the present crisis grievances of sufficient magnitude to authorize redress, if, in attempting to secure it, the Union will be endangered. The second class is composed of those blind devotees to party, who, to preserve a party organization, and to save the feelings of a party President, would compromise the honor and abandon the rights of the South. The resort to a Convention, say they, will argue a distrust of Gen. Taylor; will insinuate a

tentously lowering over our horizon, can be blind to the manifest determination of the North to reduce the South either to the degradation of a colonial dependency, or to extirpate her pecu-liar institutions? THE SOUTH IS IN DANGER. We may blind our eyes to the reality of the crisis, we may close our ears to the thundering threats of extermination, but we cannot thereby make the crisis less real or the threats less insult ing. That crisis must be met, and those threats, if need be, must be hurled, in proud defiance, back into the teeth of our

If, then, our institutions are endangered, how are we moeffectually to go to work to secure them? We answer, by concert of action among the Southern States. The moral power of even one State, determined upon the vindication and the security of her rights, may stay for awhile the progressive spirit of Northern encroachment, but it is only by unity of resistance among all the Southern States that an effectual stop can be put to these oppressions. And how is

for a respectful recognition of our equality and rights.

FROM A COMMUNICATION IN THE CHARLESTON MERCURY. But what the South now needs is not a temporary settle But what the South now needs is not a temporary settle ment or postponement of the difficulty. The great principle must be now and forever disposed of, if the South values its political existence, or the North desires to preserve the Union. And we believe that nothing but a Southern Convention And we believe that nothing out a Southern Convention, unanimously announcing this to the North, or disunion the alternative, will suit the emergency. That Convention must meet, and, if it be wise, insist upon the constitution being so amended that Congress shall be declared incapable, in all time to come, to legislate, directly or indirectly, upon slavery, and forbidding any amendment of this amendment at a future day. forbidding any amendment of this amendment at a future day. This must be done, or as soon as the North obtains a majority Every thing tends to this result. On the justice or good feeling of that section we cannot rely; the matter must be placed beyond its control.

It must also be at once determined whether this Union one of opinion and consent, under a written compact, or one of force. The constitution must be further am explicit declaration that any State of this Confederacy shall have a right peaceably to withdraw from the Union whenever its people in Convention shall so determine.

Again, a clause must be inserted requiring the Presiden of the United States, (as was doubtless the intention of the framers of the constitution,) whenever a Convention of the people in any State shall declare a law passed by Congress unconstitutional, to call a Convention of all the States, by proclamation, to determine upon the constitutionality of that aw; and if decided in the affirmative, guaranty to the State, if she does not choose to acquiesce in this case also, the right of peaceably withdrawing.

Now is the time to remedy these things. It is time that

we had a fresh understanding of the bargain. Such another opportunity may not again occur. Then let the Southern Convention meet, and place the rights of the South and of the States upon a secure basis. Let them say to the North, by such a time engraft these amendments upon the constitution, or WE DISSOLVE THE UNION."

PROM AN ODE, "SONS OF THE SOUTH," IN A LATE NUMBER OF THE CHARLESTON MERCURY. Sons of the South ! as now ye rise,

Your eyes in eager flashes roll; How fair your land, how bright your skies, Too fair and bright for dastard soul! Ye look the men your fathers were! Methinks ye carry sword and spear— And see—where smiles the treacherous friend! His smiles are deadliest signs of strife,

The serpent's venom with his eye: WAR, BRETHREN, BATTLE TO THE KNIFE, OR LOSE YOUR ANCIENT LIBERTY! Oh! sires, we call ye from the grave, We ask ve but to see, not save, And curses on the coward slave Who shames your deathless memory !

We have now arrived at a point in the discus sion of the project of a Southern Convention, at which it is proper to call the attention of our readers to certain historical facts, unknown probably to a majority of them, and, what is of more consequence, wholly unknown to such young gentlemen as have come of age within the last twelve or fifteen years, out of whom is now composed no inconsiderable portion of the Legislatures of the has been certainly stimulated by the near approach of the seventh census, yet the design with which pressed by certain politicians is any thing but new. vears ago.

It was earlier than the date given by Mr. CAL-HOUN, that there began an agitation, from the Southern quarter, most vigorously carried on pro-slavery from the South and the anti-slavery from the North-the main object of both of which was prejudices and jealousies of the People of the oppomost zealous rally was made for a time by those which bore a remarkable resemblance to those which have characterized the course of the present time come to a head, as it has done now. But certain it is, when we come to think of it, that, whilst it was in action, it developed the chief features of the agitation which last year sprung up, as t were, from its old roots, viz. Unity of action by the People of the Southern States-a Southern Confederacy-and a separation of certain States from the Union.

Not desiring our readers to take this piece of history upon credit, or to suppose that it is told upon hearsay or upon doubtful authority, we will re-produce two or three passages from the records of the day, which will sufficiently establish the facts 'himself to believe union, on any terms, better than disunion, indicated.

The Telegraph newspaper, for the year 1833, contains numerous references to this subject. We make extracts from one of them only, as a sample of the whole, which may be found in the weekly edition of that paper of the 23d October, as

"And why is it that the South do not act together? Car any Southern statesman give any reason why the South do not act together? Can any Southern statesman give any reason why the South do not act together? If the bare apprehension that Garrison and Tappan will alarm the South and force them to act together has put the whole political hive [in New York] into a ferment, what could be the effect of a united action in the South, if all our presses and all our people spoke one language? If it is seen that we are one in sontiment and action, as we are in interest, who would dare invade our rights?"

"If the movement of Garrison & Co. in New York has been such as to call forth a town meeting, is it not time tha been such as to call forth a town meeting, is it not time that the people of the South, who are the owners of this property, should consult together as to the steps necessary to protect their firesides? If, in a few short weeks, these agitators have grown so much as to call forth such a meeting, how long will it be before those who approve of the object, but disapprove of the time of Garrison's movement, will be found acting with him? The answer is with every one: they will set with him when they find the majority acting the majority acting they will act with him when they find the majority acting with him; and, judging from the progress of his party, that time will not long be deferred, unless the South, by decommon and united resistance, shall alarm those who con trol public sentiment, and convince them that, upon this subject at least, there is a common interest and will be mon resistance.

"We entreat every slaveholder to peruse Professor Dew with a firm resolution to resist the 'moral influence' which the factionists of the North would diffuse amongst us. I will convince every intelligent reader that slaves are not a curse; that they do not endanger the temporal or spiritual life of the master; and that all that is wanting to protect our property and enforce our rights is a united resistance.

Two years later than this, the "Telegraph" was ransferred to Baltimore, and there published under the double title of " The Merchant" and " The Reformer," the first edited by the original editor of the ginia being supposed to be in session) the author Telegraph, and the other by an able and well- says, on the same topic: known writer of the State Rights' School.

In this paper of the 29th July, 1837, allusion made to " the present [then present] unhappy ex-

the country. It would restore harmony and good feeling between the North and the South. It would strenghen the bonds of the Union. It would give quiet and security to

the slaveholding interest." In the same paper of the 26th August, 1837, may be found the following:

"THE UNION IN DANGER .- It would be but closing our eyes against reason and fact, were we to express any other opinion than that the spirit now prevailing generally in the non-slaveholding States openly threatens the Union of the States. A large and rapidly increasing body of deluded men have, for years, been engaged in the nefarious attempt to disturb the social relations existing under the Constitu

In the same paper of August 21, 1837, we find a communication under the signature of "John Thompson," the object of which is to recommend the annexation of Texas in connexion with the selection of a Southern candidate for the Presidency, from which we take the following:

"It is in vain longer to delude ourselves with hope. The great question which must decide the permanency of this Union ALBEADY IMPENDS; and the Southern and Western States will be untrue to themselves and degenerate from their sires, if they fail to throw out their banner from the outer walls, and meet the enemy from the very outset."

Upon this article the "Reformer" remarks:

"As to Texas and Abolition, we cordially concur with John Thompson in the expediency of meeting the questions at once. The South has borne this wanton and insulting intermeddling in its affairs long enough. We must prepare for the worst, but at the same time use every exertion to avoid extremities. We should ask no more than what we are willing to allow to others, and be satisfied with nothing less, Upon these questions the South must be united as one man. and brace every sinew for the contest."

Again, demanding the annexation of Texas [eight years before it actually took place the " Reformer'

"The subject is one calculated to arouse the attention of this whole Union, and cannot be unceremoniously disposed of in the way proposed. It may be laid upon the table, but it will not sleep there. It will rise up again and again, until it shall secure a fair hearing, and then we shall know whether twelve States of this Union are prepared to surrender up their rights under the Constitution-to bow down at the footstool of abolition, and to doom themselves and their posterity to perpetual imbecility, without a struggle.'

These brief extracts will serve to show the spirit in which the newspapers in the Southern interest engaged in this controversy. But heavier metal than this was brought into the field, to which chiefly, at this moment, it is our desire to direct the attention of our readers. It was rather before the date of the preceding extracts that there was written, and several States, and indeed of the popular branch of carefully and neatly printed at the Telegraph office Congress itself. A recurrence to those facts will in this city, a Romance of love and politics, the latter show that, though the existing agitation in the South greatly preponderating, entitled "The Partisan Leader;" the object of which was to prepare the public mind in the South, but especially in Virthis agitation has been fomented rather than re- ginia, for the establishment of a Southern Confederation, in the event of a continuation in office, by It was entertained by politicians of the same school re-election, of President Van Buren and his party. (calling itself State Rights) more than fifteen This work was, at the time of its publication. freely, but wrongfully, attributed to Judge UPSHUR. of Virginia. It was written by another Virginian. of the same politics as the Judge, a gentleman of character and ability, and an ardent politician, now through a press in this city, conducted with talent no more. We shall not trouble our readers with the as well as spirit, under the well-remembered title story of the work, further than to say that it was writof the "United States Telegraph." There were ten as in anticipation of the history of the future, dethen going on, at the same time, from 1833 to scribing certain things as having occurred (remark-1838, two agitations, counter to each other—the ably enough) in 1849-50—that is to say, at the time now current-and resulting in adding Vinci to other States which had at a somewhat earlier to accumulate political power by working upon the period cast off the yoke of the Union. The story opens with an incident supposed to take place in site divisions of the North and the South. The October, 1849, but it goes back to the second term of President Jackson's Administration, to describe embarked in the Southern project, the features of the father of one of the personages of the story, a worthy Virginia gentleman, who had had the weakness to resist the importunity of certain of his agitation from that quarter. It did not at that friends, at some time between 1835 and 1848. whose views are thus presented:

"They remarked the steady tendency of Federal measures to weaken the malcontent States in the South, and to increase the resources of their Northern oppressors and those of the General Government. Hence they feared, that whenever Virginia, or any other of the slaveholding States, should 'find itself driven to secession, the other party, in the confidence of superior strength, might be tempted forcibly to resist the exercise of the right. They thus arrived at the conclusion that separation, (which they deemed inevitable,) to be peaceable, must be prompt. These ideas had been laid before Mr. Trevor, and, in proportion to the urgency with which they were pressed, was his alarm and his disposition to adhere to the Union. He, at last, had brought under any circumstances. As the lesser evil, therefore, he determined to forget the Proclamation, and, striving to reconcile himself to all the acts of the Administration, he regarded every attempt to unite the South in support of a Southern President, AS A PRELUDE TO THE FORMATION OF "A SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY," &c.

Mr. Van Buren is supposed to have been reelected President in 1848-9; and the story goes on:

"It was clearly seen that he had determined to use the power thus obtained, and to administer the Government solely with a view to the interest of that sectional faction by which he had been supported. 'Væ victis!' 'Wo to the vanquished!' was the word. It had gone forth; and Northern cupidity and Northern fanaticism were seen to march, hand in hand, to the plunder and desolation of the

"Under these circumstances, the Southern States had been, at length, forced to see that the day for decisive action had arrived. They therefore determined no longer to abide the obligations of a Constitution, the forms of which alone remained, and having, by a movement nearly simultaneous, SECEDED FROM THE UNION, they had immediately formed a SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY. The suddenness of these measures was less remarkable than the prudence with which they had been conducted. The two together left little doubt that there had been a preconcert among the leading men of the several States, arranging provisionally what should be done, whenever circumstances should throw power into the hands of those whom, at the bidding of the usurper, the people had once driven from their councils. It is now known that there was such concert. Nor was it confined to the seceding States alone. In VIRGINIA, also, there were men who entered into the same views. But, while the President believed that no decisive step would be taken by the more Southern States without her co-operation, he had devoted all his power, direct and indirect, to control and influence her elections. Of tumultuary insurrection he had 'no fear. The organized operation of the State Governments was what he dreaded." &c.

Further on in the story (the Legislature of Vir-

"I have already sp ken of those men, in each of the Southern States, of cool heads, long views, and stout hearts,

made to "the present [then present] unhappy excitement on the slave question; the mode proposed States South ask it of her, (to act among the foremost,") &c.